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STATEMENT OF HON. MOORFIELD STOREY,

OF BOSTON, MASS.,

BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

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COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Friday, April 6, 1906.*

The Committee on Insular Affairs met at 11 o'clock a. m., Hon. Henry Allen Cooper in the chair.

**STATEMENT OF HON. MOORFIELD STOREY, OF BOSTON, MASS.**

Mr. STOREY. It would have been easy, under certain circumstances, to bring here a great many gentlemen to make short speeches in favor of this resolution, but it would have meant calling a great many busy men from different parts of the country at a great deal of inconvenience and expense to them, and so Mr. McCall has thought it better to place that responsibility upon one man, and the responsibility has fallen upon me. I could wish that it had fallen upon somebody better qualified, but I shall endeavor to do the best that I can.

I fancy that there are now very few citizens of America who do not recognize that the Philippine Islands present to us a most embarrassing problem. Some seven or eight millions of poor, discontented, unhappy people are a serious problem for any government to deal with, especially where the government is as remote from the scene of action as is the United States from the Philippine Islands.

I do not propose to discuss who is responsible for the existing conditions. That is a matter of history, and it involves a good many disagreeable and partisan arguments. The present is enough, and it is clear that the proper solution of the questions that now present themselves is difficult enough to require all the time and all the thought that we can spare for the Philippine Islands.

As Mr. McCall has pointed out, this resolution is aimed at one reason for retaining our control of the islands. When the islands were taken the argument was that it was necessary to do so in order to prevent them from being taken by some other power. That argument did not impress all of us, but it impressed a great many people of this country very much. And we see it constantly brought forward now as a reason for retaining the islands. We can not afford to let them go because some other power would take them.

This resolution aims to remove that obstacle from our path, and the feeling which prompts it is that we should be at liberty to deal with the Philippine Islands as we think proper. The question of their government; the question whether they should receive their independence or not is a question between us and the Filipinos, and it is not a question which legitimately interests any foreign power. In deciding that question we should be able to deal with it as we think best. If we conclude to give the Filipinos independence, we should be in a position to do so when we think proper, but not to have our



judgment coerced by the fact that some foreign nation is liable to interfere if we decide in a certain way. This, therefore, is a resolution which is intended to free the hands of the United States and leaves in its entire control the situation.

That it is feasible to obtain such an agreement is, I think, hardly doubtful. In the first place, if we ask the powers of the world to make this agreement with us, we are not asking them to give us anything. The Philippine Islands in their eyes now belong to us. They are not subjects for foreign aggression. To interfere with them means war with us, and that is what no foreign power is at present seeking. Therefore when we ask them to agree, if we decide that it is proper to give the Filipinos their independence, they will keep their hands off. We are asking them to give nothing.

The request, if made now, is made at a peculiarly favorable time. There never was in the history of the world a time when the friendship of the United States was so much desired by everybody as it is at this moment. There are many of us who come down from a former generation who remember the time during the civil war when the relations between this country and England, this country and France, this country and Germany, were strained; when we felt that we were constantly living under the shadow of their interference in our affairs; when the greatest service that could be rendered was to persuade them to keep their hands off; and the feeling in this country against those nations was extremely bitter. But to-day Japan certainly wishes to cooperate with us, and she recognizes the friendship that we have shown her in the recent war with Russia. Russia would be anxious to be our friend if possible, and a reformed Russia will find us warmly her friend. Germany has shown her desire to be friendly with us by her recent action about the tariff. France and England are certainly each anxious to preserve their present relations with us; and if this country were to ask them simply to make this agreement, I am perfectly certain that there would be no objection. If we said that we wanted this thing we should get it.

Moreover, what we are dealing with, that which we are afraid of, is not so much the anxiety on the part of any foreign nation to take the Philippine Islands because it wants the islands as it is the fear that one nation may take them in order to prevent another nation from taking them. England once owned and controlled these islands, but she let them go voluntarily. Spain owned and controlled them, and, I fancy, was very glad to get rid of them. Certainly the figures show that her prosperity since we have had her colonies is much greater than when she had them. Our own experience with them has not been such as to make other nations regard them as a peculiarly tempting morsel. Probably if England should be assured that Germany would not get them, and Germany that France would not get them, and France that no other foreign power would get them they would be glad to agree that those islands should become independent. They would be protected by an international agreement against their being absorbed by any rival.

This result is in accordance with perfectly established diplomatic precedents. The independence of Holland clear back to the treaty of Utrecht has been protected by international agreement. The independence of Belgium was guaranteed in 1839, the independence of



Switzerland in 1813, and I could give you a long list of similar agreements whereby certain small powers have been made independent, and by the consent of their stronger neighbors have been protected against aggression. If, therefore, we, the great Republic of the West, feel at any time in the future that the time has come when it is worth while to let the small republic start in the East, we wish to feel that we shall be able to do so. And the agreement that this resolution suggests is simply an agreement that if we want to let our child try to walk alone these other powers will not step in and knock it down. To me the thing seems to be a matter of common sense. It assures us freedom in dealing with the most difficult problem that we now have before us. It gives us a free hand, and it does not force our hand in any way. It removes one difficulty in our path; and that certainly is something which we all ought to be glad to accomplish. And I am unable to see that there should be any objection whatever, but objections are stated.

MR. CRUMPACKER. The agreement by the powers for the neutralization of the smaller countries of the world are simply to secure their independence against foreign aggression. Are there extant now any agreements to protect them against domestic incapacity and disorder?

MR. STOREY. I fancy not, sir.

MR. CRUMPACKER. I am in sympathy, in a broad way, with this proposition. But, in view of the fact that in the Philippine Archipelago there is no common language, no literature, no common traditions, and practically no national spirit, do you believe that those people could maintain any kind of respectable, independent government? Are you sufficiently well acquainted with the conditions there to be able to give an opinion upon that question?

MR. STOREY. Well, sir, if those assertions of yours are all correct—which I am not quite prepared to admit—I should none the less say that, in my judgment, they are much more competent to govern themselves than any other nation is to govern them, and I shall endeavor to say something in support of that proposition before I get through.

MR. CRUMPACKER. I would be glad to hear you upon that.

MR. STOREY. They have no common language, but it seems to me that they are better able to understand each other than they are to understand us. English has never been a language spoken by any of the people of the island, and while their dialects vary very much, the same is true of the English dialects, for the people of Cornwall and the Scotchmen do not always understand each other, yet they have means of communication by which they understand each other very much better than they understand Frenchmen.

So far as national spirit is concerned, it seems to me the Filipinos have a very strong national spirit. The testimony of a gentleman who is a member of this committee, the testimony of many gentlemen who went to the Philippine Islands, the universal testimony of these gentlemen is that the Filipinos all desire independence. That is the foundation of national spirit, and the capacity for disorder is common to human nature. I want to say a few words about that when I come to it a little further on in my argument.

But let us take that very proposition. It is said that Holland and Belgium and Switzerland are well-organized countries that can safely be intrusted with their independence, and the Philippines can not. This resolution frees our hands. It leaves us free to settle the ques-

tion when and as we will, but to settle it as we think right, and not to hold on to the Philippines when we think it right to let them go, for fear that England or Germany or France or some other country may take them. We shall be taking advantage of a peculiar situation, which will leave us to deal with the islands without fear of foreign interference. That is all that this resolution accomplishes. But it is said that this thing contemplates their future independence; that the passage of this resolution would mean to them, and would mean to the world, that ultimately we propose to make them independent. Is not that to-day the position of almost everybody in this country?

A good many years ago, at the beginning of the business, there were people who fancied that this was going to be an extremely profitable venture; that the United States had much to gain by taking the Philippine Islands. I think that that party has been steadily losing membership ever since. The words, "The Philippines for the Filipinos" mean, ultimately, their independence.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to call your attention to a passage in the report of the Philippine Commission (the Schurman Commission), with which probably you are familiar, and to ask your opinion as to whether the statement is applicable to present conditions. On page 175 of their report that Commission say:

Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the Commission believe that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy.

Then a little later they say:

Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable.

And then, speaking of educating the Filipinos, they say:

Nevertheless, they recognize the indubitable fact that the Filipinos can not stand alone.

Now, if they are in such a condition that our withdrawal would result in anarchy, is it now possible for us to state with any degree of certainty a day for such withdrawal?

Mr. STOREY. This resolution does not call for that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is not that a practical question?

Mr. STOREY. I am not prepared to deal with that question. May I ask what is the report from which you have just quoted?

The CHAIRMAN. It is the report of the Schurman Commission. They went over there at the direction of President McKinley. It must have been in 1900.

Mr. McCALL. Isn't the report dated?

The CHAIRMAN. I read from an extract of the report. The Commission was appointed in 1898. The report is at least six years old.

Mr. STOREY. That report was signed by President Schurman?

The CHAIRMAN. It was signed by President Schurman, Admiral Dewey, Charles Denby, and Dean C. Worcester.

Mr. STOREY. Colonel Denby was the gentleman who said that we should try the Philippine Islands, and if we found that they would not pay, we should let them go. President Schurman, after some experience in the islands and his experience since, has changed his mind, and he said not long ago that "the worst government of the Philippines by themselves would be better than the best government of the Filipinos by the United States." That is a change of mind.

Admiral Dewey began by saying that the Filipinos were much better fitted for self-government than were the Cubans, and I think that his mind has been more or less in suspense. General Otis, I think, is the man who is responsible more than anybody else for the war. I do not think that as a statesman his judgment should control ours. At any rate, that was made at the beginning of the period upon which we are now looking back. It was made, apparently, on the theory that our government there was going to be free from disorder; that we were going to secure a peaceful, prosperous community. No one can look back upon the six years that have passed without saying that this expectation has been very far from realized.

Now, take up this question of the danger that the Filipinos will fight among themselves and show me any free nation, from the beginning of history until now, that has not won its freedom through fighting. Take the great Anglo-Saxon race. Take England, and go back and see how many wars she has had with Ireland; how many wars with Scotland; how many wars of the Roses; how many revolutions like the revolution which cost Charles I his head, and the revolution of 1688. How many fights have occurred before they acquired the liberty they now have?

Cross the channel to France and remember the wars there—the religious wars, the wars of the Froude. Remember the disputes culminating in the French revolution; and it was through that revolution that France obtained the liberty that she now has. And during the next one hundred years, how many more revolutions? The revolution of 1830, the revolution of 1848, the coup d'état of 1851, down to the time of the Commune, it has been a long series of internal disorders, internal contest, internal bloodshed; and the result to-day is that France has the strongest government that she has ever had.

And how is it in Germany? Look at the numerous battles that they have had there—their revolutions. Look at Russia to-day, and ask yourselves whether those people are not through bloodshed winning their way to freedom.

Go down to Mexico. In 1848 we left Mexico absolutely shattered. We destroyed her government; we destroyed the coherence of the people; we left it a prey to factional and internal disorder and absolutely impoverished. That was in 1848—something like fifty-eight years ago—and where is Mexico now? She is one of the most prosperous and well-ordered of the nations which lie south of us on this continent.

It was the same way in South America. And I can not help calling your attention to the words of Henry Clay, when he spoke of the South American Republics, for which everybody was prophesying disorder, in 1822:

But it is sometimes said that they are too ignorant to admit of the existence of free government. \* \* \* I deny the alleged fact of their ignorance. I deny the inference from the fact, if it were a fact, that they want capacity for free government. \* \* \* I contend that it is to arraign the dispositions of the Almighty to suppose that he has created beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled on by Kings. Self-government is the natural government of man, and for proof I refer to the aborigines of our own land.

And President Lincoln put the same argument more at length when he said:

These arguments that are made that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done



for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for the enslaving of the people in all ages of the world. You will find that the arguments of kingcraft were always of this class. They always bestrode the necks of the people; not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. \* \* \* Turn it every way you will, whether it come from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent.

Now, against such statesmen as General Otis, who is a military man, and Admiral Dewey, who is a naval officer, I can not help thinking that we can place the arguments of Lincoln and Clay, and feel that they as statesmen are better and safer guides for the people of this country than are the gentlemen who have been referred to.

But there is another thing to be said on this subject. Take these Moro Islanders. They have been governing themselves for a great many years. They are said to be the most savage part of the Philippine Islands. They had so much of a government that we made a treaty with them which lasted for some years. They went on, so far as appears, without internecine warfare during the existence of that treaty. Now, if they are incapable of self-government, how is it that this has not happened? How is it that for three years there is peace on these islands and that the first indication of war, bloodshed, and slaughter came when troops of the United States went there?

The CHAIRMAN. There are some practical features of it that need discussion.

Mr. STOREY. I was simply addressing myself to your question whether the Filipinos are fit to govern themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate the force of your argument.

Mr. STOREY. Then you must remember when you say they have no literature that the University of Manila is older than the University of Harvard. You must remember, also, that they have a large number of men who were educated at foreign universities.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me say right there, in connection with what you said about the treaty with the Moros, that instead of being what we call a "treaty" it was simply an agreement between the military commander and the insurgents, and an agreement with relation to the regulation of the practice of human slavery. President McKinley refused to ratify that particular clause in this military agreement, but peace, notwithstanding, continued in this province—and this is a reply to your question, I think—until such time as our officers undertook to prevent human slavery there, when the trouble began.

Mr. RUCKER. That treaty, I think, had its inception in the thought that the United States Government wanted the aid of the Moros in preserving order there. I think that is true, is it not?

The CHAIRMAN. That possibly had something to do with it.

Mr. STOREY. I think this must be said, that we wanted the Moros to keep their hands off while we were fighting the people in Luzon.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is agreed, generally speaking, that the reason for the outbreaks among the Moros was, in large measure, if not entirely, due to our interference with the system of slavery.

Mr. STOREY. I think it largely comes from the fact that we went in there and said, "Now, we are your masters, and you must submit." It was because we undertook to assert our authority over the island that the trouble broke out. Our purpose may have been entirely

benevolent, but there are certain incidents in connection with the enforcement of that policy that I am sure we all regret.

As to whether they are fit for self-government at this moment or not, we say to the world, and we say to them, "We are endeavoring to educate and elevate you; we are undertaking to fit you for self-government," or, as the President put it, "after the manner of the really free peoples." We are saying to them, "Two generations hence—three generations hence—at some time in the indefinite future—we expect to let you go."

I do not think that anybody of any importance in the United States now ventures to say to the people of this country that the object of our policy is to keep this people forever subjects, arbitrarily, without hope of freedom, or without hope of becoming citizens of the United States. That policy is, I think, no longer advocated. Every advocate of our policy now puts it on the ground that some time, if they want to, they shall be free.

Therefore, if you pass this resolution, you say no more to the people of the Philippine Islands than you are now saying to them through various official channels, and that is that some time they shall be free.

But even if it means more. If it means, "We propose to make you free soon," must we shrink from that proposition? Is that a thing which strikes an American citizen as something abhorrent; something wrong; something not to be tolerated?

I hold in my hand here a petition which was presented to the members of both political parties by some 7,000 persons. After reciting the conditions somewhat at length, they say:

We do ask in the name of the fundamental principles upon which the American Republic was built, and in the name of justice to a foreign people now our subjects, that the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands be granted their national independence as soon as, with the maintenance and aid, and under the protection of this Government, they can install a free government of their own.

Now, the men who seek this are the educational, the religious, and the moral leaders of this country. There are an indefinite number of bishops, and there are almost all the presidents of our colleges.

Mr. McCALL. Is President Schurman in the list, do you know?

Mr. STOREY. Mr. Schurman is in the list; yes. Mr. Schurman is one of the most active men on the committee. Such men as Wayne MacVeagh signed the petition. [Examining the petition.] Yes; President Schurman is one of the men who signed it, and it is also signed by Grover Cleveland, by the leading lawyers of New York, by Archbishop Farley, by Cardinal Gibbons, and others. You can hardly name in this country men whose opinions on almost every subject carry greater weight with their fellow-countrymen than the gentlemen who signed that petition. They are not men in politics—though, perhaps, some of them are. They are the men who represent the desire of the American people; and they undoubtedly express the feeling that is deep in the hearts of a large majority of the people of the United States.

Mr. GILBERT. Would the passage of this resolution have any effect upon the difficulty of preserving order in the Philippines while our occupation continues?

Mr. STOREY. Not a bit. The disorder comes from the fact that those people are unhappy and discontented. When we are dealing

with children, and tell them that they can never have what they want—

Mr. GILBERT. Would they have the ambition of wanting that which they will have ultimately?

Mr. STOREY. They have the aspiration of any human being, child or man, for freedom. You can not check it. You can not rub it out. But you can give it to them. They say, "What is the use of being patient? What is the use of trying to get on pleasantly with the United States if they give us no hope?" I believe that if assurance is given to these people that they are to have independence, it would do more to make the people happy than any other single step that could be taken by the United States. And that is the judgment of the men who signed this petition.

Mr. GILBERT. What do you say of the policy of forcing them to study the English language in the schools?

Mr. STOREY. I have always felt that that was a very unwise step. As Mr. Dooley once put it:

"We'll larn ye our language because 'tis aisier to larn ye ours than to larn oursilves yours."

Mr. GILBERT. Would it be forcing a foreign tongue upon them without their consent?

Mr. STOREY. You could easily understand how we should feel in this country if the French should come here and make us learn French. Not long ago I was in Quebec, which has very nearly become a French province. I saw a statue of Queen Victoria standing back in a corner, broken, and statues of Champlain and Frontenac were in their places on the front of the Parliament House. I found that the papers printed for the two Houses were printed in English and French. Some of the members spoke French and some English. If an attempt were made to force those people to speak English they would be sure to rebel. It is a matter in which the people are vitally interested. The trouble between Austria and Hungary, which has nearly broken up the Austrian Empire, was in large part caused by the attempt to make Hungarian regiments obey commands given in German.

And, after all, what is language but a tool? The point is to get the idea. One man gets his ideas by the use of French, another by the use of English, and another by the use of Spanish. If you find people thoroughly equipped with a tool, why not let them use that for what they have got to learn, without forcing them to use a new tool?

Mr. PARSONS. What language should they be taught?

Mr. STOREY. I think the Visayan or the Tagalog language. The Tagalog comes nearer being a common language than any other does.

Mr. PARSONS. But, as a matter of fact, we were told when we were out there that the men of one province could not understand the men of another province. For instance, the officers of the constabulary—

Mr. RUCKER. I understand that the same thing is true in the United States. I understand that the people in Arizona can not understand those in New Mexico, and yet we think that these Territories ought to be joined together.



Mr. STOREY. There are more tribes in the United States than in the Visayan Islands, if you take the Indian tribes that were scattered through the territory which we call ours.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you understand that there is much objection in the Philippine Islands to the teaching of English in the schools?

Mr. STOREY. I suppose that the Filipinos are glad to learn anything, but I think that there is objection to being forced to learn English.

Mr. PARSONS. But do they object to being taught it?

Mr. STOREY. I think they do. I think that the feeling of the people is against it. I do not think that the children who go to school object. I do not think that we should expect any opposition from the children. As matters now stand, English is the tool. The man who can speak English gets on better with his neighbors; he gets on more easily with his rulers. It helps him to get employment. But I fancy that if we should step out, the study of English would not be persevered in.

Now, as I was saying, suppose we were to give the Filipinos independence now. Why not? Why are we staying in the Philippines? Why not dispassionately, as American citizens, look the facts in the face? Why are we there? Is it helping us? Take merely the pecuniary balance sheet, and put on one side what it costs us as a nation, the hundreds of millions of dollars that we have spent there and are going to spend there in fortifications, in keeping soldiers there, and all the expenses of imperial government there, and then on the other side of the page put the few dollars that some two or three citizens may have made. It is a drop against a hoghead.

Mr. RUCKER. What do you think about the patriotic duty that we owe forever to maintain those people over there because they fell to us as the result of war?

Mr. STOREY. I think that our patriotic duty is a humane duty. I think that we owe the same duty to the Philippine Islands that we did to Cuba. I am not able to discover any special difference between the two cases. The question whether the Cubans were fit for self-government was raised before we vacated the island. I could cover this table with predictions from statesmen of every sort that if we let those people try self-government it would be sure to fail. We were told from every side that the Cubans were incapable of self-government.

Mr. RUCKER. I do not think that there has been any disorder there since we gave the Cubans control of the island.

Mr. STOREY. None. The general idea seems to be that the Cubans as business men are more prosperous than the Porto Ricans. In one case we have been governing the people, and in the other they have been governing themselves. Now, there are certain things which are essential to government.

Mr. PARSONS. Is not the lack of prosperity in Porto Rico due to other causes than that? Is it not due to the destruction of their coffee trees by the forces of nature, and not to matters of government?

Mr. STOREY. If I simply listened to Porto Ricans, I should say "No." If I listened to the their American governors, I should say "Yes." There is always that fundamental difference between the men who are in power and who are undertaking to satisfy their compatriots that they are doing wisely and well, and those people



who are on the other side of the fence, and who are not quite so satisfied with the government.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask you one question. You said a moment ago that the expense in the Philippines was enormous, and that there is no profit to us in the retention of the archipelago, etc. In that connection, is there anything instructive, by way of argument, to be found if we refer to England's experience with Hongkong? We are informed by history that for twenty years after England took that island there was hardly a year that bills were not introduced in the English Parliament for the withdrawal of English power from that island, and the giving of it up, because of the expense, and because, as was alleged, that there was nothing by way of profit to the English Government. To-day there is nothing that could induce the English Government to withdraw from Hongkong. On the contrary, instead of its proving a drain on England's resources, the retention of that island has been of enormous profit for England.

Mr. STOREY. I have no doubt whatever that England finds Hongkong profitable. I have no doubt that up to now England has found India profitable. But, as I understand it, we are not justifying our retention of the Philippine Islands on the ground that we are going to get money out of them. Therefore, England's success in Hongkong and India would not justify us in retaining the Philippines just because we could make money out of them.

The CHAIRMAN. I made the suggestion merely in reply to what you said.

Mr. STOREY. Exactly. I appreciate what you say. I say that the Philippines have been a source of expense to us, and no profit. It is one thing to take a city like Hongkong, and quite a different thing to take an archipelago, containing 8,000,000 of dissatisfied people, and expecting to make profit out of them. I fancy that human experience shows that a storekeeper who tries to ingratiate himself with his customers, who is pleasant to them and tries to induce them to come in and buy, is more apt to succeed than the one who tries to force his customers in with a stick. We have killed a great many of our possible customers in the Philippines, and that certainly has hurt our trade with the Philippine people.

I am tempted, since you have put it to me, to deal with India here. Our people have contended for a great many years that if England has succeeded in India we can succeed in the Philippine Islands. There are a few essential differences. But in the first place let me take up the question of success. If you ask the English if they have succeeded in India, they say, "Yes; ours has been a marvelous success." If you ask the Indian people, you get a very different idea. England has been steadily draining from India for a century or more that which has made England rich. And just as in proportion it has made England rich it has made India poor. I have here two maps [indicating]. That one illustrates the famine area during the first year of the nineteenth century. That [indicating] illustrates the famine area in the last famine a few years ago. India is being slowly starved to death for the profit of England. There have been more deaths from famine in India within twenty-five years than there have been deaths by war the world over in one hundred and

seven years, including the bloodshed of all the Napoleonic wars and our own civil war. That large black circle [indicating] represents the deaths by famine in India in the last twenty-five years. That little square [indicating] represents the deaths by war in one hundred and seven years.

Mr. GILBERT. What connection is there between the famine in India and England's occupation?

Mr. STOREY. The fact is that England found comparatively few people who were starving, and every year that she has been in India the area of starvation has been increasing. She has been, and is, draining India of her wealth, and in 1900 the annual income of the Indian people was £1 per head on an average. Mr. Digby tells us that the deaths by war in the whole world during one hundred and seven years, from 1793 to 1900, have been about 5,000,000, while the deaths from famine in India alone during ten years, from 1891 to 1900, have been 19,000,000. This horror is progressive, and constantly increases.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were in India five famines, costing perhaps 1,000,000 lives; in the second quarter there were two, causing half as great a mortality; in the third quarter there were six, causing 5,000,000 deaths; and in the last quarter there were eighteen, and it is estimated that 26,000,000 people died of starvation. "In 1880," said Sir William Hunter, "there remain 40,000,000 people who go through life on insufficient food." In 1901 an Indian publicist wrote: "For nearly fifteen years there has been a continuous famine in India, owing to high prices." The average duration of life in England is about forty years; in India it is twenty-three. It is not lack of food, but of money to buy it. There has always been food enough in India. England spent in trying to subjugate the Boers, in one year, a great deal more money than enough to have fed every mouth in India during the same period of time, as we are told.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, is it your idea that the monopoly of English corporations is responsible for that condition?

Mr. STOREY. Here is the condition: The Indian administrator is prone to claim that the Indians are lightly taxed. So they are, if the rate per head is taken; but the reverse is true if the proportion of tax to property is considered. Applying this test, it would seem that the Indian taxpayer pays a percentage four times as great as the Scotch and three times as great as the English subject of the Crown, yet a few years ago it was stated in Parliament that the income tax in India yielded one-sixtieth as much for each million people as in England; and the speaker added: "If this is not conclusive of the poverty of the people, nothing will satisfy the most exacting mind."

The accumulated wealth of India in the days of Warren Hastings was carried away by Englishmen. Now her income is drained to England to pay the interest on English investments in railroads and public works and the expenses of the English administration. This drain is said to be now some £30,000,000 a year. As Mill said in his *History of India*:

It is an extraction of the lifeblood from the veins of national industry, which no subsequent introduction of nourishment is furnished to restore.

And as Lord Salisbury said:

As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested.

A prosperous country [said one authority], is one in which the great mass of the inhabitants are able to procure, with moderate toil, what is necessary for living human lives, lives of frugal and assured comfort. \* \* \* But millions of peasants in India are struggling to live on half an acre. Their existence is a constant struggle with starvation, ending too often in defeat. Their difficulty is not to live human lives—lives up to the level of their poor standard of comfort—but to live at all, and not die. \* \* \* We may truly say that in India, except in the irrigated tracts, famine is chronic, endemic.

Then they destroy the Indian industries, the rare manufactures that were produced nowhere else, and, instead, Englishmen are employing the Indians in making ordinary cotton cloth in great factories and putting an end to India's natural trade.

Professor Seely, a high English authority, has said of English rule in India:

At best we think of it as a good specimen of a bad political system. We are not disposed to be proud of the succession of the Grand Mogul. We doubt whether, with all the merits of our administration, the subjects of it are happy. We may even doubt whether our rule is preparing them for a happier condition, whether it may not be sinking them lower in misery; and we have our misgivings that perhaps a genuine Asiatic government, and still more a national government springing up out of the Hindu population itself, might, in the long run, be more beneficial, because more congenial, though perhaps less civilized, than such a foreign unsympathetic government as our own.

That is the testimony of a man who believes in it. Now, here is the testimony of another man—that is, Meredith Townsend, the author of "Asia and Europe," and a man thoroughly familiar with his subject. You will find his book on India most instructive, and it is not a very long book. He says:

Beneath the small film of white men who make up the "Indian Empire" boils or sleeps away a sea of dark men, incurably hostile, who await with patience the day when the ice shall break and the ocean regain its power of restless movement under its own laws. As yet there is no sign that the British are accomplishing more than the Romans accomplished in Britain; that they will spread any permanently successful ideas, or that they will found anything whatever. It is still true that, if they departed or were driven out, they would leave behind them, as the Romans did in Britain, splendid roads, many useless buildings, an increased weakness in the subject "people," and a memory which in a century of new events would be extinct.

The chasm between the brown man and the white man is unfathomable, has existed in all ages, and exists still everywhere.

And the income of these poor people, the estimated income per head, in 1850 was twopence a day; the official estimate in 1882 was 1½ pence a day, and in 1900 it was less than three-quarters of a penny a day. If you look at the English Empire in India from the Government's standpoint, it is a splendid success, but if you look at it from the point of view of the people, whose income has fallen to less than a penny a day per head, it is a terrible failure.

Now, let us look and see what we are doing in the Philippine Islands. I have here a table showing what is going on in Balayan, Tuy, and Calatagan, in the province of Batangas.

In 1896 the number of inhabitants in that municipality was 41,308. In 1905 it was 13,924. That is a great many people to wipe out.

Mr. RUCKER. What has become of them?



Mr. STOREY. They have been killed or have died or moved away. I do not know what has become of them. The area of cultivated land, in hectares, was 19,500 in 1896, and 1,700 in 1905—not 10 per cent. Products: Rice, 39,020 cavanes in 1896, and 12,500 cavanes in 1900; sugar, 520,000 picos in 1896, now 12,300 picos; maize, 110,000 cavanes in 1896, now 10,000 cavanes; the oxen then were 10,000, now 427; the cows then were 3,650, now 80; carabaos, oxen, 4,110 in 1896, now 433; carabaos, cows, 1,350 in 1896, now 92; there were 11,000 hogs then, there are now 2,800; there were 96,000 hens, there are now 5,000. Consider what a story those figures tell.

Mr. RUCKER. From what source do you get those figures?

Mr. STOREY. I got those figures from a letter which was addressed by representatives from that province to Hon. William H. Taft, the Secretary of War, on the 26th of August, 1905.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me for another interruption there. I do not know anything about how to account for the death of the other animals, but it is known that the rinderpest has destroyed the carabao there in vast numbers. I had an interview with Mr. Roxas, who, I believe, is a nephew of one of the heaviest landowners in the Philippine Archipelago, and he told me that he had on their plantation about 8,000 of these working animals, and that the rinderpest came along and killed them so rapidly that it was with great difficulty they could be buried. Of the original 8,000 only about 300 survived, I believe.

Mr. STOREY. It was a scourge that came there, but I also have no doubt that many of the animals were killed during the war.

It is very well known that war, pestilence, and famine go together. And where you are killing and laying waste the country you are cutting off their sources of food and you are bringing about a condition where men are prone to disease. And undoubtedly, if one were to deal scientifically with the condition of the Philippines, it would be found that the rinderpest was in part due, as almost every famine that follows in the train of war is due, to the absence of the productive members of society and to the death and infection that war invariably causes.

I am going to talk to you gentlemen very frankly. You are the eyes and ears of the only legislative body that the Philippine Islands know. Upon you rests the responsibility of governing those people.

Now, here in the United States we have States varying in numbers from 40,000 people, which I believe is the population of Nevada, up to about—I do not know how many millions in New York. Everyone of those States, no matter how small, every city, every town, has a legislature devoted exclusively to the interests of the particular State or city, and it is the business of that legislature to be in constant touch with the people that it governs and to find out what are their wants, a business which the legislators attend to, because these people have the power to displace them or retain them at their pleasure. The ear of the representative is generally open to the complaints of his people. The community knows how to bring to his attention what it wants and what it will have.

Now, gentlemen, let me ask you how much of your time and how much of your thought is or can be devoted to the needs of the Philippine Islands? Consider that you are a legislature. You are here representing, in the first place, the citizens of the United States—



dealing with the questions that concern them; and that is enough to take your time and attention, the best time, the best thought, and the best attention that you can all give. How much is left for the Philippine Islands? How much do you really know about what is going on in the Philippine Islands?

Let me take a single thing, and that is "reconcentration." We went to war with Spain largely because our consciences were outraged by the practice of reconcentration in Cuba. We felt that as a civilized people we could not stand by and see those people injured in that way. And I remember that President Roosevelt, impatient at the delay of President McKinley, is said to have said, "The steps of the White House are slippery with the blood of the reconcentrados." This illustrates the feeling of the United States on that question.

If anybody had told us then that we should have gone to the Philippine Islands and applied that practice on a larger scale than it was ever applied in Cuba, and with quite as disastrous results—more disastrous results than in Cuba—what should we have said? And yet that is what we have been doing. General Miles reported in 1903 that in that year in a single district 400,000 men were given fifteen days to gather their property and come into a few towns. Last year the population of two or three towns was turned into a field without shelter and without food except that which they brought with them. They were left to make for themselves such shelter as they could. They were left with such food as they could get, with no medical attendance, and with such sanitary conditions as are inevitable in such circumstances. That is reconcentration under the American flag. Whose steps are slippery with the blood of these reconcentrados? The population of Albay (300,000) was subjected to the same treatment a year or two ago. Upon whose steps does the blood of those people rest?

Now, in England, when they were applying reconcentration in South Africa, there was published every month a blue book, which stated how many reconcentrado camps there were, how many people there were in each—how many men, how many women, how many children, and how many of each class had died the previous month. The English people were kept thoroughly informed. And not only that, but a list was kept of every piece of private property that was destroyed, when it was destroyed, how it was destroyed, and who destroyed it, and for what reason. The people were kept fully informed as to every single thing which went on in South Africa. Do the members of this committee know—can they find out—how many people have suffered from reconcentration in the Philippine Islands? Ought not the American people to know what is being done there?

I instance that merely as a single case, as one thing which clearly illustrates how little the American people know as to what is going on in those islands, and unless we know the facts how can we govern?

The great trouble that we are having there is this: Our whole policy rests upon the assumption that the Filipinos are inferior and ignorant; that they are not fit to be trusted, and that they can not be believed. And if that is the attitude of the whole country, can you wonder that the soldiers and the civil administrators, the directors and representatives of this country who are sent out there, reflect that feeling? Is it not perfectly certain that when they come to deal

with the Filipinos they let them understand that they are inferior and deal with them as such? The Filipinos welcomed us with open arms. We were friends; we were deliverers; there was nothing too good for us; but in a short time our soldiers were walking along the streets, hustling them into the gutter, and speaking of them as "niggers," and making it perfectly plain to them that we considered them our inferiors.

If you have ever been to a country muster, you know what the soldiers do, even in this country. If you have ever been to college, you know what the young men do. Young men everywhere, when they are relieved from the pressure of public opinion and from the immediate restraint of discipline, are very apt to amuse themselves at the expense of anybody who is a little weaker and whom they can safely bully. They "haze" each other, and they "haze" casual strangers. We go to the Philippine Islands and take particular pains to let those people understand that we consider them inferior, and that attitude insures the failure of any attempt on our part to govern the Filipinos. No government in the world can succeed when the governors do not believe in, do not trust, do not sympathize with the people that they are governing. You clothe you administrators with arbitrary power. The life of the Filipino is substantially at the mercy of any officer of the constabulary, and the lives of a great many Filipinos have been taken in all sorts of illegal, outrageous, cruel ways during these last years, and there is no constitution to defend them.

Now, what is a constitution? Why do we have a constitution in this country? The Constitution is a law which is devised to protect the weak and the poor against the strong and the rich, to protect ignorance against knowledge, to protect the minority and the individual against the majority. We who are sitting here now should not feel safe in the enjoyment of our property if there were no constitution between us and the legislators of our own choice, of our own natures, of our own blood. There is not a court in this country that has not decided year after year that many acts of the legislature are not legal. A great debate is now going on in the Senate on a question which deals with the constitutional rights of American citizens—their rights under that Constitution which we say is necessary to protect us. And yet we say that these seven or eight millions of people thousands of miles away from us can be safely trusted to two or three Americans, without any constitution to stand between them and the arbitrary power of those men.

If there is any lesson that history teaches, it is that arbitrary power of one man or one nation over another is certain to injure the man or the nation that exercises it. There is no despot who does not steadily go down hill as soon as he is trusted with power. And that is the whole secret of government. There is no proposition more fundamental than this, that a government which controls 8,000,000 of people, without a constitution, without adequate supervision, without any real knowledge of what is going on in their country, is certain to fail.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that they have no constitution there. The people of the Philippines have, by statute passed by the Congress of the United States, a complete bill of rights, which was copied from the Constitution of the United States, with the addition

of several provisions from various State constitutions, and this bill of rights is as complete as that of any citizen of the United States, excepting that it does not give them the right to bear arms nor the right of trial by jury.

Mr. STOREY. The law is suspended at the will of the Commission, and they have no voice in their own government.

The CHAIRMAN. No; neither the bill of rights nor the statutes passed by Congress can be suspended at the will of the Commission. Next spring there is to be an election for members of the lower house.

Mr. STOREY. Which will have exactly the power that the lower house has in Porto Rico—that is to say, the power to do nothing, the power to suggest. Just put it to yourself, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not wish to make any improper interruptions, but I want to get at what are the real facts in the case and look at it from all sides. Is it speaking with entire accuracy to say that the Congress of the United States has turned over seven or eight millions of people to the unrestricted, arbitrary power of two or three or more Americans?

Mr. STOREY. I think it is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When that bill of rights is there, and when they have a supreme court and other courts composed largely of Filipino judges, and the chief justice of the supreme court and two other members of that court are native Filipinos, and Secretary Taft says that it is a court which will compare favorably with the supreme court of any State in the United States?

Mr. STOREY. But the Secretary is at the same time preparing a bill to take the power of appointing these judges from the Philippine Commission, because he thinks they should not be trusted with it.

Mr. PARSONS. May I correct that statement? That is not his reason. His reason is because some people there think that the Commission exercises improper control. He thinks it just as well to change it, but he does not admit for a moment that there was any improper control exercised.

Mr. RUCKER. There is some belief, however, that improper control has been exercised by the Commission, not by the Secretary, and I am very strongly impressed myself with the idea that those complaints are well founded.

The CHAIRMAN. It was in sending judges to circuit courts on special occasions.

Mr. STOREY. What the Secretary has said is this:

Speaking from my personal and intimate acquaintance, I know of no case in which there has been undue interference with the courts.

And that is from a very careful statement in a very carefully prepared speech. No case can be proven of undue interference. Who is to decide what is "undue interference?" There is no denial that there has been interference; only it is impossible to prove any case of undue interference. The Secretary then goes on to say:

There is under the present system an opportunity for such interference that, I think, can not be denied.

And therefore he is strongly in favor of giving the President alone the power to appoint and remove judges.

Mr. STOREY. You say that Congress has passed a law giving those people certain rights, which is so. But the same power that passed



that law may repeal it and the power that is called upon to execute it suspend it.

The CHAIRMAN. The people of the United States have a right to repeal or abrogate the Constitution.

Mr. STOREY. They have, but if they do it is their own act.

Mr. RUCKER. There is no danger of the people amending the Constitution. We are unable to change the present method of the election of the Senators. Everybody wants it done, but we can not get it done.

Mr. STOREY. What you say of the Filipino judges is inconsistent with the theory that the Filipinos can not govern themselves. Take the government of Porto Rico. Suppose it was proposed to establish such a government in the State of Wisconsin. Let the people of that State elect a lower house, and the governor of New York appoint five New Yorkers to act as a senate, in whom the whole executive power should be vested, and no act could be passed without their consent. Would the people of Wisconsin, because they elected the lower house, believe that they had a popular government?

The CHAIRMAN. Let me answer that by saying that Thomas Jefferson, who was one of the greatest believers in the principle of democracy, appointed a commission with greater powers in Louisiana.

Mr. STOREY. For a very short time during the transfer of sovereignty.

The CHAIRMAN. For a very short time, I know.

Mr. STOREY. In a few months Louisiana was given self-government, and I am only asking you to follow Jefferson's example. We have had a commission for eight years, and now it is time to give self-government.

The CHAIRMAN. However, are not the conditions very different?

Mr. STOREY. We need only to step across the Mississippi River. There there were a great many different races, civilized and savage. There were a great many savages in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. But we did not give the Indians self-government as we understand that word.

Mr. STOREY. Oh, yes; we did.

The CHAIRMAN. Very few of them.

Mr. STOREY. Every one of them. All our relations with the Indians have been through treaties. We have recognized the Indians as independent powers in our midst. We have not endeavored to govern the Indians. A treaty can not be made with subjects. But, we have left them among themselves to govern themselves. There is no better illustration than that very case which you put. This country has been inconsistent in letting the Indians govern themselves if they were subjects here in our midst.

What do you say about rights granted under the Constitution when in the territory of Albay a commission can pass a law giving the military officers power to issue an order saying that 300,000 people can be taken from the cultivation of their crops, deprived of their property, and herded together like cattle in a small space?

Mr. RUCKER. Have we any records from the Philippine Islands showing that such a condition as that exists?

Mr. STOREY. No; the facts have not been published, but they exist. Such things are not published, but this condition is a fact. If you gentlemen will take the pains to go to the War Department and get



all the information the Department has you will find them, or you will find that they have no records. It is an illustration of the way the American people are dealing with the Filipinos.

We have a good many burglars in Boston, and burglars whom we would like to catch, but as long as the rest of us are on the streets it is impossible to find them out. Suppose that the entire population of Boston, in order to catch those burglars, were placed on one of the islands in our harbor, and were told, "Take as much food as you will need; we can not tell how long you will be kept. We do not provide you with any shelter; go there and look after yourselves."

Well, that is what we have done in the Philippines. Is it not a mere juggling with words to say that those people have civil rights, or any rights whatever, when they can be dealt with thus? Are such proceedings consistent with the law? Another trouble is that our representatives are untrained in the government of alien peoples. If you want a man to practice law, you give him a training in a law school for a certain number of years. If he is going to practice medicine, he goes to a medical school. There is not a single thing that a man undertakes to do in this country in the way of managing a business, like a railroad or a mill, for which he is not carefully trained until he can be safely trusted with the management of the business. But when the business is governing 8,000,000 people we say: "This man who has been a professor; this man who has been a judge; that man who has been a lawyer; this man who has been a teacher; this young man who has been a business man engaged in building electric railways, perhaps—excellent men all of them—are fit to be sent to govern a people whose language they do not know, whose traditions they know nothing whatever about, whose ideas they do not understand, whose methods of thought they do not understand, without any training in this business, they can go there and succeed." They can not succeed, gentlemen. It is not in human nature possible that they should succeed.

When England undertakes to govern India, her men start at the bottom. They are admitted to the service by competitive examination. They slowly work their way up to the top. We have had no such system. Take Egypt, which is an instance of England's success. Did it ever occur to you that in dealing with Egypt you are comparing English despots with Turkish despots. The conditions which England found there were conditions of misrule. It is not surprising that the Englishman has improved the situation, but what has he done? The Turk still governs. The whole machinery of government is in the hands of the same men that were governing Egypt, the same class of men that were governing Egypt when the English went there. The English sent a very able man there, and kept him there for eighteen years; not to govern, but to advise. It is true that his advice must be taken, but it comes as advice, not command. When Kitchener was made a general of the Egyptian army, they did not give him the title of general. He entered the service of the Egyptians as sirdar.

The conditions of success are that the manager remain a great many years. He should be permanent. If you change him once a month, once a year, or once in two years, you can not have that continuity of administration which is essential. We are never going to

get Americans to settle in the Philippine Islands. We are never going to be content to live there. No Englishman in all these centuries has ever gone to India to settle. No man goes there to bring up his family. No English farmer, no English manufacturer goes to India. They are aliens; sojourners for a time. Their children go back to England. And this is inevitably so, must always be so, always has, and always will be.

How is it in the Philippine Islands? What young American is going to cast his lot in those islands? They go out for a year or two. They go out there to stay for a little while. They go out to make money to be used at home. Sometimes they go out from a sense of duty. But they won't go there to live among the people, and to understand their customs, their needs, and their language. And, therefore, you are always going to have difficulty. The United States is too tempting. It is much pleasanter to live here. It is much more agreeable living among people that one knows than it is to exile oneself and undertake to govern the people in the Philippines. What you put in on one side of the scales absolutely outweighs what you put in the other. And while those conditions do exist, you are going to have a government of misrule.

In the eight years that we have been in the island there has already been established a race problem. We regard the Filipinos as Indians. It is a great deal pleasanter to put our heads into the sand and pretend that they are getting along perfectly well together. That is human nature. The country does not like to talk about the Philippines. We say, "They are getting along very well; and don't bother us with them." But, as a fact, we have two irreconcilable elements living in the same islands. And as if one race problem at our doors was not enough, we have undertaken to establish another race problem on the other side of the Pacific.

Here is what Secretary Taft has said:

The American merchants easily caught the feeling of hostility and contempt felt by many of the soldiers for the Filipinos. \* \* \* The American newspapers, which were established, readily took the tone of their advertisers and their subscribers, and hence it is that the American community in the Philippines to-day is largely an anti-Filipino community, prone to call them names, to make fun of them, to deride every effort toward their advancement and development. \* \* \* This is unfortunate, and there must come into the islands a new set of merchants, who shall view the situation from an entirely different standpoint.

What legislation will you adopt to get into those islands a new set of merchants? Will you select the offenders from the American people who live there, and send them away? Just so long as we do not trust the Filipino our government is bound to be a failure, and that condition is going to continue. The race problem which we can not settle here is going to be a new race problem on the other side of the Pacific.

Now, let me give an illustration, which may, perhaps, come home to you all. Suppose the Filipinos are not satisfied with their governors, and that they have good cause to complain. It may be that those gentlemen whom we have sent out there have been right. I am willing to admit that they have done their best. But, since we sometimes in the United States have men in control of our cities whom we do not trust, it is barely possible that there may come out to the Philip-

pine Islands some people who are improper governors. Would you people here believe what the Filipino people say against the statements of our own citizens?

Let me put a case to you. In 1865 we in the Northern States were in a position to govern the Southern States. The population of these two sections was the same in blood, the same in tradition, the same in language, the same in essential sympathy. We were bound to each other by every sort of tie, by marriage, by business, by association of all kinds. We were dealing with them. Through the telegraph, the newspapers and letters, there was communication between us every hour of every day. There was not a thing going on in those Southern States that was not brought to our attention by Southern men, year in and year out. And we sent men to govern those people whom we now look back upon with a good deal of shame. We governed the Southern States for something like eleven years. They are badly governed, and when they complained we said, "No; you are disloyal. Though you are our brothers, we do not believe what you say."

Now, if we did not believe what those men said from 1865 to 1876, will the time ever come when we shall believe what the Filipino people say against our governors. Take the governors of any city in this country, take the directors of great insurance companies, and ask them if they have done their duty, and they will tell you that their administration has been honest—as faithful, as efficient as it is possible for the administration of a great company to be.

I have no doubt that the man who was recently expelled from the control of Cincinnati would tell you that the government of that city was honest and pure. I suppose the Philadelphia ring would praise their own career. If you were sitting here to try the question of whether the government of Philadelphia was or was not honest, you would have just as much testimony in favor of the governors as you had testimony from the governed. There would be a conflict of testimony. There was no conflict of testimony in Philadelphia. They knew exactly where the control was; they knew whether they had been governed honestly or not. And that is what self-government means. We may have no evidence against a man whom we know in our hearts to be a rascal. If we are asked to prove it in a court of justice we can not do it, but the whole community may know it, as we know much that we can not prove, and that is what makes it safe to trust the people with the power to govern themselves.

Now, you take from the Filipinos the right of appeal, all voice in their government, no matter what the form is. They appeal to deaf ears. You say that the responsibility of governing them rests upon us. We are too busy to do it; and our experience there has merely exemplified what was said a great many years ago by a very excellent historian, John Stuart Mill, who said:

The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as a government of one people by another does not and can not exist. One people may keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm, to be worked for the profits of its own inhabitants; but, if the good of the governed is the proper business of a government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it.



The historian Froude said:

If there be one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this, that free nations can not govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces through mere incompetence for its duties.

Or, as Lincoln more briefly put it:

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God can not long retain it.

Mr. GILBERT. What do you say to this proposition, that those islands would soon be dominated by the Japanese or the Chinese, and that the future condition of the Philippines would be worse instead of better?

Mr. STOREY. Pass this resolution and make a treaty that will keep those people out of the islands. Make them agree with us that when we let our child try to walk they won't step in and knock him down.

Mr. GILBERT. What assurance have we that we could get those oriental countries to enter into such a treaty?

Mr. STOREY. There is an ancient story which I shall try to tell. An old negro, when he was asked if he had absolute faith in God, said "Yes." He was then asked: "If God directed you to butt your head through that stone wall would you do it?" "Well," he replied, "I should butt at it; butting at it belong to me; getting through it belongs to God." In this particular case, however, I have not the remotest doubt that if the United States asked Japan or any other power to agree to this treaty they would do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the resolution ought to specify the conditions?

Mr. STOREY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you leave it entirely to the discretion of the President?

Mr. STOREY. I think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is another resolution of somewhat similar purport introduced by Mr. Burgess, which specifically instructs the President to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Spain, and Japan.

Mr. PARSONS. Is China included?

Mr. STOREY. I think that China might very properly come in. It is one of the things which, I think, might be included in a treaty with China.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that there ought to be anything more in the way of conditions or requirements? There is in this resolution no condition as to agreements or terms.

Mr. STOREY. I should be very glad if Congress proposes in addition to say what treaty it wants. But I think that if seven or eight diplomats could sit down together they could draw up a treaty in a short time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me call your attention to another condition. By the other resolution we understand that when established, the Philippine government shall agree to maintain equality of trade relations toward all the signatory powers, and that in the event of war between any of the nations of the earth, it shall be neutral. Would it not be well if we were to pass a resolution of that character to have something of that kind incorporated in it?

Mr. STOREY. I see no objection to incorporating both those provisions.

Mr. RUCKER. Have you read the resolution introduced by Mr. Burgess?

Mr. STOREY. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. HUBBARD. If the United States negotiated any such treaty as is suggested by this resolution, would not the other powers necessarily insist upon an adjustment of trade relations?

Mr. STOREY. I suppose they would; yes.

Mr. HUBBARD. And also open an adjustment of relations as to personal intercourse. For instance, immigration. Japan and China would insist that so far as they were concerned the gates should be wide open to immigration into the Philippine Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in that connection, if China is to be negotiated with, and any such condition is to be in the treaty, as has just been intimated by Judge Hubbard, there would be war at once, because the Filipinos to-day strenuously object to letting down the bars to the immigration of Chinese coolies.

Mr. STOREY. I fancy that we could leave China out of the compact altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. Still, she is somewhat aggressive, and her boycott on American goods is becoming more strenuous every day. It is the only way they have of objecting to our exclusion policy.

Mr. STOREY. It is only human nature. They say, "If you do not want to play with us, we would rather not play with you."

I have an impression that it is a sound rule of political economy that it never pays to do yourself what you can get somebody else to do for you more cheaply. China is not a nation that desires to have her coolies leave her country. The trouble that we are having with China is not because we do not permit her citizens to live as our citizens and do our work; it is because we do not permit her educated ones without indignity to enter our ports and travel through our country. Our policy in regard to immigration is pretty severe, and I will give you an illustration, which, perhaps, may affect you.

Some years ago, you will remember, there was a massacre of Armenians in Constantinople, and the whole civilized world held its hands up in horror. I think it was said that they killed some 60,000 people. Among those surviving were a certain number of Armenian merchants who had been in Constantinople, and who fled for their lives to ships in the harbor. After the massacre they were not allowed to return, and they naturally took with them nothing but what they had on their backs. They started to go to Marseille, but for some reason did not land there; and then they came to Boston, and we said to them, "Though we sympathize with you, we do not want you here, and you can not land," and had all the other nations been as illiberal those unhappy Armenians who had survived the massacre had better have perished, because they might have had to travel always, and they might have found no place where they could have put their feet on land. There was a gentleman in Boston, himself an Armenian, who came forward and gave bonds for the whole of them—bonds in the sum of \$50,000—and I was appointed by the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to scrutinize his security, in order to make sure that the bond was good, which I did.

Now, it seems to me for a great country like ours to say to those

unhappy people that they could not land on our shores, and could have no share whatever in our prosperity, was just as cruel as it was for the Turks to kill the rest of them. I have always had a strong admiration for the Armenian who was willing to do what the whole 80,000,000 of people were not willing to do, and that was to guarantee those men a living.

Mr. PARSONS. Returning to the conditions in the Philippines, have we not taken a very different course with respect to the Philippines from that taken by the English in India, and even that taken by the English in Egypt?

Mr. STOREY. Yes; I think we have.

Mr. PARSONS. The establishment of a common school system is a step which the English have never been willing to take in their colonies. Is not that so?

Mr. STOREY. I think that is true. I have no doubt it is true. But, of course, when you say that we have established a common school system, what we have done is to appoint some teachers, tell them what they shall teach, and then tell the Filipinos to pay the bill. We say to them, "Your houses are not quite as well furnished as are those of the more prosperous people on this side of the water. We want to be benevolent to you. Your house is badly painted. We will send you a lot of furniture; we will paint your house; and the bill will come to you." They reply, "Our treasury is overburdened; our commerce is destroyed; we can not get bread to put in our mouths." The United States is making the Filipinos pay citizens of the United States for teaching them things that perhaps they do not want to learn.

Mr. PARSONS. As a matter of fact, is not the public school system that we have established there popular with the Filipinos, as a rule?

Mr. STOREY. I take it that the Filipinos are very much like other human beings, and that they appreciate the benefit of schooling for the children; but a pill that is thrust down a man's throat by somebody he does not like is pretty apt to be objected to. I think we should object. If we put ourselves in the Filipinos' place I think we should object very much, indeed.

Mr. PARSONS. But do they object?

Mr. STOREY. I think they do. Perhaps they do not make their objections very loud.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge Storey, there is this fact to be taken into consideration: If the Filipinos had had a common school system, or any effective school system, before we went there, with which they were satisfied at all, and then we undertook to substitute our common school system, and had, as you say, crammed it down their throats, they might be hostile; but, as a matter of fact, they had no general system of education, and they yearned for it, and in certain provinces petitioned for it. I heard officers say when I was there last summer that they were delighted with what they had, and that that was the one thing with which all the Filipinos were pleased—that their children were being educated.

Mr. RUCKER. They never had a school system during the three hundred years of Spanish rule.

Mr. STOREY. I have no doubt whatever that a great many of the Filipinos are glad of the instruction. At the same time, I am sure that a great many of them feel that the expense of the school system



should not be imposed upon them. Before we went there they had begun to establish a school system. They had normal schools and had begun to establish a school system. They appreciated the advantages of such a system, and they were establishing it in their own way. But the great trouble is that we do not recognize the fact that the Americans and the Filipinos are different. We say that they are inferior and imagine that we can take a Filipino and make him an American. We do not recognize the essential difference, and we do not treat them sympathetically. The Mohammedans are much more successful as missionaries in India than the English, because a Mohammedan treats his pupil as a brother. He takes him to his home, while the Englishman talks to him in church and cuts him on the street.

I believe that the whole vice of our system is that we are trying to make an Asiatic into a Yankee. You might as well try to make a pine tree into a palm by grafting as to try to make an Asiatic into an Englishman. Those essential differences are there. Centuries of English rule have not made Irishmen into Englishmen. An Irishman and an Englishman are very different. Even Americans are different. There is a great difference between the people from one section of the country and those from another section. Those differences can not be eradicated. They must be recognized and respected. When we say to the Filipinos that they can govern themselves ultimately, but that it will be a century before they will be independent, it is a long way off, and we might as well say that we never will make them independent.

Mr. PARSONS. Do we say that?

Mr. STOREY. We are very careful not to say so too distinctly.

Mr. GILBERT. Is it not the law of civilization that it progresses through the stronger races conquering the weaker ones? Did not Spain drive out the Moors?

Mr. STOREY. Had the Romans crushed the Greeks? Had the Romans who invaded Gaul destroyed that people they would doubtless have said that civilization was the gainer, but we know that the reverse is true. The expulsion of the Moors was a calamity to Spain, as it was to France when the Huguenots were driven to England. The French lost the trained artificers, who in no small part laid the foundation of England's manufacturing supremacy. We have killed a great many Indians, as the Spaniards did before us. If they had been left alone, as they were intended to live, I have no doubt that they would have brought into the human race something that was worth having. It is rather amusing to see how we used to think about Irishmen.

Mr. GILBERT. You apply your argument to the aborigines of Australia. Do you think that the introduction of English would be a calamity to the aborigines?

Mr. STOREY. Yes; if the English exterminated them. When we went to Japan we found that country inhabited by a people not very unlike the people of the Philippine Islands. If we had gone to work there and driven them all out, and colonized the country with Americans, we should always have looked back to that as a case where the superior race had triumphed and the inferior race had been driven out. Instead of that, we thought these men worthy of saving. We left them to govern themselves, and the result is that you have an

Asiatic power of the first class; and the Japanese in science, in medicine, in war, and in everything else have shown themselves our equals. Now, if we may apply the same argument to the aborigines everywhere, the difference between them and other aborigines is by no means clear.

I want to read you now, just for a moment, something which may perhaps amaze you a little. When James II brought the Irish troops to England, this is the way in which the feeling of the English was expressed by Macaulay:

No man of English blood then regarded the aboriginal Irish as his countrymen. They did not belong to our branch of the great human family. They were distinguished from us by more than one moral and intellectual peculiarity. They had an aspect of their own, a mother tongue of their own. When they talked English their pronunciation was ludicrous, their phraseology was grotesque. \* \* \* They were therefore foreigners; and of all foreigners they were the most hated, for they had during five centuries always been our enemies; the most despised, for they were our vanquished, enslaved, and despoiled enemies. They were regarded as stupid and cowardly.

Could the inferiority of the Filipinos be painted in any stronger language than this? "Stupid and cowardly!" Strike from the annals of the English Parliament the speeches of Irish orators, from the records of the English army the deeds of Irish generals and soldiers, from English literature the works of Irishmen and there would be very little left—much less than there is now. You may take the history of the Irish in every country of Europe. You find that they have given a President to France, and also many able generals; to Spain a prime minister; to Austria, Russia, and other European countries soldiers, prelates, and diplomats of the highest rank. There is no foreign court where there has not been some Irishman who has taken the highest honors. I have a belief that when the Creator made of one blood all the nations upon earth, he had a use for them all, and that if they were properly treated and developed they would all be found useful.

I am no believer in the doctrine that because men are stronger they have a divine right to kill others who are weaker. If you applied that doctrine you would consider Washington a weakling by the side of John L. Sullivan. Rev. Lyman Abbot would confess that Sullivan is a very superior person if the test is physical strength. Now, in these people there are certain qualities which we are apt to find very strongly in the colored people. We are strong and energetic, but some of the other races have gentler qualities which we lack. It takes all kinds of people to make up the world. And I think, to deal with the general proposition, that the progress of the world has not been helped by the tendency to obliterate the weak.

Mr. RUCKER. Does it not after all, as a matter of fact, involve the question of trade relations between the Philippine Islands and these nations? It would involve the most complicated negotiations with these nations, and we would have to give up all, practically, to them.

Mr. STOREY. All what?

Mr. RUCKER. We would have to give up all exclusive rights that we possess with relation to the Philippines. We would have to give up exclusive control and practically place the islands under a protectorate. Otherwise, we would be left with the responsibility, and none of the advantage.



Mr. STOREY. That is where we are now. We have got the responsibility without the advantages.

Mr. RUCKER. I think that whatever advantage there may be, whether it be great or small, we should have; and we would be just as responsible as before and obtain all possible advantages.

Mr. STOREY. You will bear in mind that the policy of the open door should be applied everywhere, and that we can not successfully defend the doctrine that the door is going to be open in the Philippines to none but ourselves. What would be the result of undertaking to say that we are going to keep the door of the Philippines shut, but we want to go into China?

Mr. HUBBARD. But does England open Hongkong, for instance, upon terms of absolute equality?

Mr. STOREY. I remember Bismarck saying to Mr. Schurz—I think it was to Mr. Schurz—"Why should Germany undertake to interfere with the colonies of England, when it is true that wherever the English flag floats a German has every right that an Englishman has?" The colonies of England are open to everybody to trade. Our theory is that every other door should be open and ours should be shut. I should be glad to see that policy abandoned in the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with the resolution, we come to this other question. When do you wish the United States, or what date do you wish the United States to fix for its withdrawal from the islands?

Mr. STOREY. I think that you can pass the resolution without fixing that date. If I were legislating, I would apply now to the Philippines the same rule that we applied with such success in Cuba. I should say to the Filipinos, "Call your constitutional convention, frame your system, and as soon as your government is formed and ready to take control we will let you have your country."

The CHAIRMAN. Are not these cases very different? Cuba is one island, with one people, speaking the same language—a homogeneous population. Here are a thousand islands, with many dialects. There are 20 different dialects in the island of Luzon alone, and approximately 60 in the whole archipelago. Secretary Taft testifies that when he was within 100 miles of Manila, in the island of Luzon, he attended a theatrical performance, and with him was Chief Justice Arrellano, a native Tagalog, a scholarly man, of extraordinary legal ability. While the performance was in progress, Secretary Taft turned to Chief Justice Arrellano and said: "Mr. Chief Justice, what is this they are saying?" And the chief justice answered: "I do not know what they are talking about."

Well, now then, is it not true that there is all the difference in the world between a population like that, of tribes which do not constitute a homogeneous population, inhabiting island after island, thousands of whom and millions of whom have never seen each other or had any chance to get acquainted with each other or their customs, establishing a government for themselves in the nature of a republic, and the island of Cuba here, where, as I said before, the population is compact, in a very small area, and homogeneous?

Mr. STOREY. I could probably, if I had been Lord North, have made almost the same statement in 1776 about America. I could have called attention to the fact that the territory which was claimed by



the thirteen colonies had not less than probably 150 different tribes, speaking different languages, many of them, and hostile to each other. And yet it would not in the least degree have affected the general proposition that that community was entitled to its independence. Now, to take this particular illustration, it may be that Arrellano did not understand the particular company that was engaged in performing, but I venture to say that the audience would not have understood the company if they had been performing in English. English is a foreign language to all those people. If the difference in language is all, that should not govern as the reason why we should linger. Those people who are there, who know all these facts just as well as we do, and a good deal better, are all satisfied that they can wisely have and use their independence. On that question, I would rather trust them at home on their own soil than trust any judgment that you and I can form at this distance, or even from the slight acquaintance that any of us may have had.

Mr. PARSONS. You quoted me a while ago as saying that all the Filipinos were in favor of independence. What I said was that all the political parties were in favor of independence—all the political parties.

Mr. RUCKER. Does not the complication suggested by the chairman make it quite as difficult for us to govern them as it would for them to govern themselves? Isn't it true that Americans—even members of Congress—go to performances in the city of Washington and then can not understand a word that is said on the stage? [Laughter.]

Mr. McCALL. Mr. Hoar suggests to me what might be a fact, that any one of us might go out in Representative William Alden Smith's district, in the town of Holland, and go to church and we would not understand a word of the sermon.

Mr. STOREY. I have been to church in Cape Breton, where the service begins with a service in English and ends with a service in Gaelic, and those who have listened to the English can not understand the Gaelic, and vice versa, but they live peacefully together, vote at the same polls, and govern themselves. I think that very likely the Philippine government would have its troubles. The American Government has its. You say that they would have civil wars. Have we been free from them? Is the fact that we have had a civil war any reason why we were not fit for governing ourselves? There has not been any such monumental example of fighting in the history of the world as we have furnished. Through that way, through struggles, through difficulties men make their way to freedom. You put your child on his feet and let him walk. The first thing he does is to tumble down and hit his head against a table. Do you say it is the end? This child must never try to walk again. On the contrary, you let him go on and learn by repeated falls, perhaps even by putting his hand on a hot stove. Now, nations are taught in exactly the same way. No nation can possibly learn to govern itself unless it is given a chance to try. It will make mistakes, as we all make mistakes. At this very session of Congress—if it is not treasonable to say so—we are certainly making mistakes.

Mr. HOAR. We have not adjourned yet. [Laughter.]

Mr. STOREY. There is no government in this world, there is no man in this world, that does not make mistakes, and the only way in which a man learns not to make mistakes is to be independent. Take

England. The Romans were in England for three hundred or four hundred years, and when they left they left the English people to fight barbarian invaders. They left them to be the prey to Danish, Scotch, and Welsh incursions, and to domestic dissension, unable to govern themselves until they had passed through a series of struggles for two hundred or three hundred years. But they were worth saving, and they learned to be worth saving by the fights which they went through. They made mistakes, and that is true of every nation in the world.

The Filipinos started well. They started with rather high ideals. I believe that if we had given them a chance they would have succeeded. If we had dealt with them as we did with Japan, the result would have been as good. They might have made mistakes. If we give them a chance now, they will make mistakes. They may become involved, more or less, in fighting with each other, but I venture to say that there would not be as much life or property destroyed in the Philippine Islands in one hundred and fifty years in internecine conflicts among themselves as we have destroyed in the six years since we began to govern them. Well, I do not think that I can add anything to what I have said.

MR. RUCKER. I want to ask a question with reference to the schools over there. As I understood the chairman, you gave some expression, an opinion that you had expressed to you while in the Philippine Islands.

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. RUCKER. When with what is familiarly spoken of as the "Taft party"—now, I want to ask this question merely for information—did the Taft party, composed as it was of the most distinguished citizens of this country, under the leadership of the former governor of the islands, did it come into contact with the average Filipino citizen, the average common laboring man, or with just those who were holding positions where they had been put by the United States Government, and whose feelings and inclinations and whose statements were, perhaps, warped by some of those things?

THE CHAIRMAN. In reply to that question I will say that we met practically all classes. We met men who occupied the better part of two or three days in demanding independence for the archipelago. They were allowed to talk for their party.

MR. RUCKER. Did you meet a great many of those?

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes; we met a great many of them.

MR. RUCKER. I thought the truth was this, that in view of the fact that they spoke so many different languages there that no living man has ever been found who could understand them all. How did the Taft party manage to understand them?

THE CHAIRMAN. There are in each of the provinces men who speak Spanish. These men spoke to us in Spanish, and we had an interpreter, a most fluent and accurate interpreter, from Spanish into English and English into Spanish.

MR. RUCKER. Could he interpret for all of these different tribes?

THE CHAIRMAN. All the spokesmen spoke in Spanish wherever we went.

MR. RUCKER. You did not come into contact with anybody that spoke more than one language?



The CHAIRMAN. The educated people and the political people all speak Spanish.

Mr. HOAR. If the gentleman will pardon me a moment, if they have delegates from each province who can speak Spanish it does not follow that because you have 40 dialects or 60 dialects that you can not have one legislature than can enact laws. I am in favor of giving them a legislature and the power to enact laws.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that I can, without undue assumption, say that I have been a friend of that proposition from the beginning, and that I had some very strenuous combats in this committee to get incorporated into the act of 1902 a provision for a legislative assembly for the Philippine Islands. I have been from the beginning in favor of such a provision. It was only by a divided vote in this committee that the House bill containing such provision was substituted for the Senate bill, which left it entirely out. We thought that we were going a long ways in giving these people the power to elect a lower house.

No law can be passed without the sanction of the lower house. Just as soon as they have had experience with a lower house and have shown that they are fitted for government, then let the upper house be elected, as in Hawaii, and let them learn what self-government means, and the responsibility of obeying the will of the majority lawfully expressed. I want to call the attention of Judge Storey to one statement made to us in the marble hall at Manila.

Before I forget it, Mr. Storey, permit me to say that we have been very greatly interested in and instructed by what you have said.

Mr. RUCKER. I desire to say that Mr. Jones, a member of this committee, requested me to state to the committee that he regretted very much his inability to be here to-day. He was very anxious to hear Judge Storey, but found it impossible to be here.

The CHAIRMAN. As I was saying, the principal spokesman, after arguing strenuously for giving independence and for the withdrawal of the United States Government from the islands, said in substance: "I represent or speak for those who govern, the governing class, and," he added "there is another class which is accustomed to obey," thus showing that he was thoroughly saturated with the old Spanish idea of caste. Judge Taft thinks that it will take some little time to eliminate that idea, and that the hopelessness, so far as the granting of immediate independence is concerned, arises from this—that those poor people, the laborers, to-day have no idea of their rights. They seem to look upon it as legitimate for a man to say: "Here, you come over here and work for me five hours in building this house, and you bring over so much material for it." The man will do it, but he won't get anything for his labor nor anything for his material. It is the old feudal idea in an aggravated form.

Mr. STOREY. I have no doubt that there will be trouble of that sort. But, on the other hand, you will remember that you are giving them a governing class consisting of Americans, and as between the two governing classes I can not help feeling that the governing class that was born there would be quite as likely wisely to deal with their problems as the few people whom we send over there for a few years at a time from year to year. I am free to assert that the men whom we have sent over there have done the best that they knew how; but



they are aliens and can not understand the Filipinos as well as their own countrymen do.

Mr. McCALL. We have the same thing in the governing classes of our own cities.

Mr. STOREY. I was going to say that if these men, with all their ability and all their good intention, have done what has been done, and have reduced the Filipinos to the condition in which they now are, it is a demonstration of our failure, and I doubt whether anything that bad native government could inflict on those islands would be any worse for the people than the things which have been done under the Americans. It is not as if we were going to take away a perfect government, thoroughly satisfactory, and producing perfect results, and substitute for it a very poor one. The point is that we have had eight years to try, and that results have been bad, and bad from causes which are permanent and which must continue to produce the same bad effects. I have no doubt that the time is not very far distant when the American people will fully make up their minds to let these people go. We have experienced a certain number of plagues, and we may suffer a certain number of others; but the problem that we have to deal with, to govern that alien people, is a problem that is impossible of satisfactory solution, and the sooner we recognize it, the better for us, and the better for them.

Mr. RUCKER. In connection with your statement, my apprehension is that the object lesson which the American occupation of these islands has given to those people has a tendency rather to help the idea of a governing class, and a class to be governed, than to dispel it. And my notion is that it would take very little to convert and qualify those people for self-government if there was some suggestion of the achievement of that opportunity.

Mr. STOREY. I appreciate very highly the courtesy which the committee has paid me in giving me so much time. If I can be of any assistance, I shall be glad to do so at any time.

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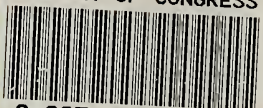
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